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ABSTRACT

This review of externally commissioned studies of African education highlights several issues of interest to the research community. A starting point for the discussion is the large number of studies of education in Africa initiated or supported by external funding and technical assistance agencies. In general, studies of African education involve only limited dialogue with researchers within the country. There is also a tension in African between the ever increasing cost of education and overstretched government revenue. Public policy, in the context of education in Africa, may be seen as intention, proclamation, or practice, and policy research takes the form of a guide to practice or a way to legitimate existing practices. Foreign aid has driven most educational research in Africa, and as they work in an aid-dependent setting, African educators and decision makers discard education as the vehicle for gaining national liberation, reducing inequality, and constructing a new society in favor of education with upgraded facilities, more textbooks, better trained teachers, and improved test scores. Research can easily become consulting to the external agencies, as the example of the research unit of the Faculty of Education at the University of Dar es Salaam shows. External agencies have influenced educational research as they have influenced educational policy in Africa. (Contains 21 endnotes and 48 references.) (SLD)

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When Research Becomes Consulting[1]

Joel Samoff

Research on African education has become inextricably intertwined with the needs, interests, and preferences of external assistance agencies. Currently, directly and indirectly those organizations employ more researchers and commission more studies than any African research institution and perhaps more than nearly all of them combined. Informed and well grounded policy is, of course, desirable. So indeed is dialogue between policy makers and researchers. Yet, just as their funds seat foreign aid organizations at the African education policy table, so too do those funds secure powerful influence over research and the research process. Little anticipated and not yet well understood, this conjunction of external funding and education research is only beginning to be studied systematically. The major outlines of this relationship have become sufficiently clear, however, to warrant concern among both researchers and policy makers.

To put the issue sharply, research and policy are both at risk.

Starting Points

My concern here is to reflect on recent reviews of externally commissioned studies of African education, highlighting several major issues of special importance to the research community (and, I shall suggest, to the aid business as well) whose roots lie in the rapid expansion of the roles of external aid agencies[2] in education research. While there certainly have been studies of foreign aid and its problems,[3] including attention to the roles of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank,[4] there has been relatively little systematic attention focused directly on aid and education,[5] and especially on the links between the large scale agenda and activities of the international and national aid agencies and the small scale decisions and activities of education decision makers and educators.[6] Hence, I rely heavily here on several recently completed reviews of commissioned research on African education. For the Working Group on Education Sector Analysis (WGESA) of the Association for the Development of African Education (DAE, formerly Donors to African Education and since renamed as the Association for the Development of Education in Africa, ADEA), I reviewed nearly 240 studies, reports, and papers on African education initiated, commissioned, and supported by external agencies in the early 1990s.[7] That analytic overview followed a comparable pilot study of similar documents on South Africa,[8] and brought up to date an earlier review of the studies commissioned during the late 1980s.[9] Subsequently, Zimbabwean scholars undertook a national review of education sector analysis in Zimbabwe.[10] With support from WGESA and UNESCO, parallel work is currently in progress or about to begin in Burkina Faso, Ghana, and Lesotho. Case studies of the impacts of economic crisis and structural adjustment on education and training, undertaken within the framework of the ILO-UNESCO Task Force on Austerity, Adjustment, and Human Resources, also explored the expanded roles of the funding agencies.[11] The presentation here draws as well on my general analysis of the consequences of the conjunction of external funding and research in several recent articles and papers.[12]

Commissioned Studies

One starting point is the numerous studies of education in Africa initiated or supported by the external funding and technical assistance agencies. A review of more recent work confirms the characterization I developed several years ago.

Their mass is truly astounding. Thousands of pages, many of them tables, figures, and charts. Notwithstanding the diversity—of country, of commissioning agency, of specific subject—among the Africa education sector studies undertaken during the early 1990s, most striking are

their similarities. With few exceptions, these studies have a common framework, a common approach, and a common methodology. Given their shared starting points, their common findings are not surprising. African education is in crisis. Governments cannot cope. Quality has deteriorated. Funds are misallocated. Management is poor and administration inefficient. From Mauritania to Mauritius, the recommendations too are similar: reduce the central government role in providing education; decentralize; increase school fees; expand the role for private schools; reduce direct support to students, especially at tertiary level; introduce double shifts and multi-grade classrooms; assign high priority to instructional materials; favor in-service over pre-service teacher education.

Their shared approach reflects a medical metaphor. The visiting clinicians diagnose, then prescribe. The patient, that is, the country, must be encouraged, perhaps pressured, to swallow the bitter medicine.

Generally conducted by expatriate-led teams during brief site visits, these studies are strikingly inattentive to context and feasibility, even to the earlier history of education aid. Most, for example, report a lack of skilled personnel and institutions and assert the importance of training and capacity building. But similar studies have reached the same conclusions and agencies have funded training and capacity building for three decades. Why do we not find a surplus rather than a shortage of skills? That question is not asked.

Although study teams now generally include researchers from the countries studied, the reports themselves suggest a continuing disinclination to rely on local scholars and institutes, even where they are relatively numerous and experienced. That is especially striking in South Africa, where with very few exceptions the external agencies have apparently been unwilling to draw on the education policy researchers and research units fostered by the democratic movement during the anti-apartheid struggle.

For the most part, learning disappears from view, buried by the focus on finance. Theory and method, for example human capital theory and rate of return analysis, are assumed and asserted, not proposed, considered, assessed, defended, and adapted. While nearly all studies lament the gaps and problems in the available education data, few collect their own information. Fewer still develop strategies for using reasonably the data that are available.

Education is perhaps the most public of public policies. Yet most of these major studies of education, explicitly commissioned to guide policy decisions, have very limited circulation. Marked "Confidential" or "Restricted," Africa's education sector studies are generally available only to the commissioning agency and a few government officials. Unpublished, they do not appear in available bibliographies and source lists. It is not uncommon to find other government personnel unaware of a recently completed study and its recommendations. Staff in other governments and agencies, who might well find the analysis instructive and perhaps even directly useful, have no reliable way to know even that a relevant study has been conducted.

One result of these restrictions is that there is very little overlap between these agency-commissioned studies and academic research. Neither sort of study refers to the other. Neither benefits from the learning (and frustrations) of the other.

A second consequence of restricted access is that the commissioned studies are rarely reviewed by scholars and others with relevant expertise. While academic peer review has many flaws, its fundamental principle is sound, both for academia and for public policy. Analyses are exposed to general scrutiny, including those most familiar with the topic and methodology. When it functions well, that exposure generates criticisms and comments that identify problems in the original study and foster improvements. Even with a short time horizon, education sector studies could clearly benefit from others' critiques.

Overall, notwithstanding efforts to increase the participation of African researchers, education sector studies remain largely an externally initiated and organized process that in-

volves limited dialogue with researchers and interested groups within the country and little sustained communication that extends beyond the study period. There have been some innovative and important exceptions, but they remain just that, exceptions.

Coping With Crisis

A second starting point for this discussion is the tension between the ever increasing cost of education and over-stretched government revenue. Pulled by popular demand and pushed by the need for highly educated and skilled personnel, education can quickly become an insatiable demand for resources. Especially as economic crises succeeded earlier developmental optimism and structural adjustment replaced rapid development as the realistic short term objective in Third World countries, there was strong pressure to assign the highest priority for available funds to directly productive activities, which often did not include education. How then to educate the teachers, or develop new textbooks, or equip the science laboratories? Or more commonly, how to fix the leaking roof? The common recourse was to external funding. For many Third World countries the external provision of assistance funds has become the center of gravity for education and development initiatives. Over time, it has come to seem not only obvious but unexceptional that new initiatives and reform programs require external support, and therefore responsiveness to the agenda and preferences of the funding agencies.

Economic crisis and structural adjustment affect both resources and how they are used. Commonly, the response to both has focused primarily on reducing government expenditures. Sometimes, the press of circumstances makes it possible to overcome entrenched resistance to cutting spending and reallocating resources in ways that contribute to the general health of the economy and the well-being of the populace. Often, however, the focus on spending less, ostensibly to use resources more efficiently, effectively, and equitably, becomes an end in itself. When it does so, the campaign to cut often obscures important objectives and rearranges priorities.

Most studies of the impacts of crisis and adjustment have been concerned primarily with reduced public spending on education. Perhaps even more important, however, are rather less visible but more enduring influences on both the national education agenda and how it is set.

As the reliance on foreign funds increases, so does the influence of both the finance ministry and the external agencies. Representing the government in negotiations with those agencies, the finance ministry tends to become much more directly involved in policy and programmatic details across all government departments. That increased role may suit well the external agencies. Especially concerned with reducing government spending, those agencies are likely to see the finance ministry as their ally, in contrast with ministries of, say, health or education, whose general mandate requires them to be more concerned with spending than with saving. The alliance between external agency and finance (and perhaps planning) ministry may be structured as a powerful lever for influencing national policy.

Dependence on, rather than simply use of, external funds leads to both explicit conditions imposed by the funding organizations and more subtle influences. Sometimes that relationship is aggressively manipulative. The funding agency may make the provision of support conditional on the adoption of specific policies, priorities, or programs. Support for vocational schools, for example, may be contingent on the implementation of a strategy designed to increase female enrollment in the technical curriculum. Occasionally influence flows in the other direction. To secure resources for a preferred program, the national leadership may mobilize support and bring pressure to bear on the funding agency in its home. Where, for example, the goal is to acquire microcomputers, the national leadership may communicate directly with individuals and organizations in the prospective funding agency's home country who are energetic advocates of the instructional use of microcomputers. At other times that relationship is less directly influential. The funding agency may, for example, finance research intended to support its preferred pro-

grammatic orientation. Or the Third World educators may tailor their requests, more or less explicitly, to fit within the funding agency's agenda. In their planning discussions, for example, they may begin by exploring the funding agency's current high priority goals and then consider how to develop a request for assistance congruent with that priority. Occasionally the paths of influence are far more circuitous. A desire to win support for a high priority goal in one project may promote a willingness to accommodate a low priority goal in another.

Heavily dependent on foreign assistance, Sénégal and Tanzania repeatedly modified education and training policies and programs in ways that reflected the priorities and preferences of the funding agencies. By the end of the 1980s, for example, the planning director in Tanzania's education ministry characterized his work as "marketing."[13] His task, he said, was to advertise and market broad ideas and specific projects in the hope of finding a sponsor—an external assistance agency—to fund them. Over time priorities were set less by government and party leaders and more by what foreign governments and their aid organizations were willing to finance. The power brokers in education had once been those who could put together coalitions of people influential in Tanzania's public and private life. By the late 1980s they had become those who were most successful in securing foreign funding, those who seemed to have the most reliable access to embassies in Dar es Salaam and institutional headquarters in London, Washington, Stockholm, Paris, and elsewhere.[14]

Marketing may be a reasonable, and reasonably successful, coping strategy in an adverse setting. It may provide a vehicle for securing additional resources at times of economic distress. It may even permit national elites and their foreign partners to put off yet a bit longer confronting major problems and undertaking serious economic, political, and social transformation. At the same time, when marketing is the prevailing orientation, innovation is limited to whatever the funders will finance.

As countries have become more dependent on external funding to support new projects and even recurrent expenditures, planning has acquired an increasingly external focus. Economic and financial crisis energize the search for additional revenue sources. As manufacturers look for new customers, educators seek benefactors. Providing education assistance has become a big business.

Policy as Process

A third starting point for this discussion of education research in Africa is to recognize the multiple and variant meanings attached to the notion "policy." It is common to think of policy making as a reasonably straightforward process. Policy makers specify problems, gather information, explore alternatives, consider consequences, and adopt formal decisions that are then implemented. A somewhat less linear conception modifies this core understanding by adding feedback loops, say, from implementation to problem specification, or from the consideration of consequences to information collection. Policy making in practice, however, often departs substantially from that picture.

An extended review of alternative approaches to the study of public policy and a systematic critique of specific understandings of the policy process are beyond the scope of this discussion. It is useful, however, to consider briefly here different understandings of public policy and how it is made, and especially the role of research in the policy process and the consequences of adopting a particular understanding of policy making.

Policy as Intentions, Policy as Proclamations, Policy as Practice

In recent years the study of public policy has become a profession in itself. Universities have Faculties and Schools of Public Policy. Political Science departments, professional associations, and journals recognize public policy as an established sub-discipline with, its leading figures

assert, its own basic assumptions, research rules, and evaluative standards. Accompanying the specialized public policy journals are text books, case studies, syntheses, and analytic critiques. Typologies, schemas, and models abound, often too complex to diagram clearly and too extensive to fit on a printed page.

Most of the writing on public policy focuses on formal pronouncements by authoritative institutions. Since making policy is assumed to be the prerogative of those in power, that literature studies elites. Some of its contributors are especially interested in the political confrontations and negotiations that precede the determination of policy and thereby in the individuals and groups that seek to influence policy outcomes. As I have noted, most often this perspective understands policy making as a sequence of activities, moving from vision to formulation to negotiation to policy specification and announcement to implementation to evaluation. That sequence may be linear, or circular (implementation and its consequences become inputs to vision and negotiation), or more convoluted (progress and retreat, say, between negotiation and specification, or between announcing a policy and implementing it).

A minority voice among students of public policy, however, challenges this notion of policy as the official proclamations of government and other power holders. In the alternative view, policy is made as much—or often a good deal more—in practice as by pronouncement.

Consider, for example, policy on language of instruction. The ministry responsible for education may have formal rules, publicly announced and officially recorded, specifying that instructors are to use a particular language to teach certain subjects. Suppose, however, that an on-site study shows that 90% of the instructors use other languages to teach those subjects. When asked, a school principal might say that "our policy in this school is to use the language that our students understand. To do otherwise will make their examination marks even worse." What, then, is the *policy*? From one perspective, the policy is what the ministry has promulgated, and what the teachers do is a deviation from official policy. From the other perspective, the actual policy—that is, the working rules that guide behavior—is what the teachers are doing. In this view, the ministry documents are just that: official statements that may or may not be implemented and certainly not guides to what people actually do.

Consider too how parents who are unhappy with ministry rules might seek to influence education policy. In a democratic society, they could of course, call on members of parliament to introduce appropriate legislation or to intervene on their behalf with the ministry. They might also approach the ministry directly, in a more or less confrontational mood. Often, however, parents work to influence policy less by addressing the rule makers and more by attempting to change the practices of those politically closest to them and directly responsible for the activities that are of concern. That is, the parents might well try to change the policy by pressing the teachers, even though the teachers may have no formal role in the official policy making process. Again, there are two explanatory perspectives. From one, the parents who press teachers are supporting a self-interested deviation from policy. From the other, those parents are influencing policy directly.

Or consider an example from South Africa's education struggles. In some settings, students chased the principals from their schools and effectively prevented their return, notwithstanding the overwhelming force available to the government. Eventually, the education department responsible for an affected school designated a replacement principal. Now, what was the official policy on the selection of school principals? The *stated policy* assigned authority for appointing principals to education departments. The *policy in practice* assigned authority for appointing principals to education departments, subject to the veto of students in particular communities.

In part, this difference is semantic. But these two opposing orientations are not entirely a matter of terminology. The perspective and understanding that are adopted affect the expected

and actual role of research. They function to specify the appropriate focus for advocacy groups and more generally suggest how popular participation in policy making can and should be organized. The specification of what is public policy and how policy making works also frames the analytic agenda.

Many researchers and activists assume the first perspective outlined here, focusing their major attention on the creation of official national policy statements. They have not, of course, been inattentive to the ways in which interest groups and community organizations seek to influence those national policy statements. But their general approach has not understood community and school initiatives and practices as policy making activities.

For both researchers and organizations one consequence of this perspective has been what might be termed a handing-over notion of their role in policy formulation. At different moments in a particular country's history, the policy tasks include conceiving new policies appropriate to changing circumstances, developing specific policy proposals, and preparing plans for implementing the new policies. The common expectation is that the results of those efforts will then be handed over to the appropriate officials. They, in turn, are expected to assume responsibility for refining the policies and putting them into practice. For at least some organizations (and researchers), this understanding of policy making has proved, at least for the short term, disempowering, especially during the course of a major reform. Focused on handing over their policy proposals, they pay relatively little attention to what is to be their role in the policy process after transmitting their recommendations. As well, they generally pay relatively little attention to the role of the administration in the policy process, and thus to the ways in which the bureaucracy can, and does, become a major obstacle to the adoption and implementation of new policies. At the same time, assuming that it is the policy makers that matter most often leads to inattention to the initiatives and roles of groups opposed to the new policies.

The notion that policy is made by government leads to the expectation that when new officials—reformers—assume office they can bring with them new policies. The old order can, of course, be a nuisance in the transition, but it cannot really challenge the new policies. The alternative assumption that policy is made in practice assumes that those responsible for implementation are often in fact the policy makers. From this perspective, changing policy requires a strategy for dealing with the implementers. Whatever the assessment, the general point here is that the analytic framework that is adopted informs and guides—and thus circumscribes and constrains—both the political and the research agenda.

Policy Research as Guide, Policy Research as Legitimation

A similar divergence characterizes the understanding of the role of research in the policy process. In one view, relevant research enters policy making to inform and guide decisions. For example, research on cognitive development informs, or should inform, the preparation of the curriculum for children in their first year of school. Disregard of that research leads to poor policy. Common are the complaints that policies would be significantly better and would be more effective in practice if policy makers paid more attention to research findings. Common are the laments of researchers that they are ignored by policy makers.

Research becomes the ticket of admission to policy discussions. Proposals not accompanied by supporting research are not given a hearing. Individuals unable to cite research to support their interventions can be safely ignored. Some analysts argue that were the researchers themselves to play a more central role in policy making, the resulting policies would be even better crafted and more likely to accomplish their objectives.

An alternative view argues that the principal role for research in the policy process is to justify and rationalize decisions. From this perspective, for example, educators respond largely to political pressures in specifying the language of instruction and refer to research on the acquisi-

tion of language skills and the development of learning strategies to support the policies they have adopted. Research also influences policy through its incorporation into the early education of policy makers. The proponents of this view are neither cynical nor antagonistic to undertaking high quality research and drawing on its findings to make policy. Rather, they understand policy making primarily as a political process and emphasize its political, rather than legal and technical, characteristics.

The more linear-rational understanding of the role of research in policy making encourages its own sort of handing over. Researchers undertake studies they expect to be relevant to important policy issues and then hand their findings to those in power. It is then the responsibility of the formally designated policy makers to use that research to inform their decisions. Once they have handed over their results, the researchers may consult and advise but have little direct responsibility and cannot be held accountable for how their research is used. From the alternative perspective handing over research results is insufficient to achieve desired policy outcomes. Consequently, researchers must be more attentive to how their research is used and must therefore incorporate into their research designs expectations about the ways in which the research is likely to enter the policy process.

A Limiting Perspective

My concern here is not to assert that a particular analytic framework is most appropriate for studying education policy or the roles of research, researchers, and consultants. Rather, the exploration of alternative perspectives helps to clarify the activities of the particular policy initiatives and their sponsoring organizations, why they were undertaken, and with what consequences. The more general point here is straightforward and too often ignored. Assumptions about what is policy and how policies are made influence both research and political action.

South Africa provides a clear example of the ways in which assumptions about the policy process have at least in the short term limited the post-apartheid perspective of education policy activists and researchers. Notwithstanding the richness of their internal debates about policy and an occasional paper with limited circulation that advocated a broader perspective, in their public documents and general approach South Africa's Education Policy Units (EPUs—organizations formed within the democratic movement to contest apartheid education and prepare for its successor) have focused primarily on official decisions by former and newly elected elites. That orientation has proved problematic for the EPUs in several ways. First, their assumptions about how policy was and would be made apparently led them to focus relatively little analytic attention on education policy making in post-apartheid South Africa. They simply did not undertake the sort of study that would not only have helped them clarify their own roles but would also have proved useful to the new education leadership, to the organizations of the liberation education alliance, to the numerous democratic movement education non-governmental organizations, and to the former activists who were quickly assuming official positions at national and provincial level. Second, they directed relatively little attention toward the process of transition, generally assuming that when their political allies took senior positions they would be in charge. Consequently, they did not develop an analysis of the politics of transition that explored, for example, the role, strategy, and tactics of the apartheid education bureaucracy as it entered the new era. Nor did they study the relationships among multiple poles of power. What, for example, was to be the role of the parliamentary education committee or the parliamentary African National Congress education group? Third, notwithstanding their political alliances with students and teachers and notwithstanding their clear appreciation of the ability of both groups to disrupt schooling, they did not study the post-apartheid policy impacts of actions at school site and local community level. In what circumstances, for example, are students and teachers likely to be advocates for fundamental transformation or obstacles to rapid change? Fourth, their relative inattention to the role of research in post-apartheid policy formulation made it more

difficult for them to examine critically their own roles, both nationally and within their universities, as the situation changed. Fifth, though generally aware of the potentially powerful influence of external agencies, for example the World Bank and national aid organizations, for the most part the EPUs did not focus analytic attention on those institutions and their actions. As a result, they were generally unable to explore, document, and assess critically the ways in which external agencies insinuated themselves within South African institutions, thereby gaining access, influence, and legitimacy. That in turn deprived the EPUs' eventual critiques of those agencies of a solid analytic foundation. There can be no doubt that the EPUs played prominent roles in apartheid's terminal years. They were important participants in the education struggle that itself was central to making apartheid education unworkable. Yet, their own understanding of education policy and policy making proved limiting and risked marginalizing them, at least during the initial majority rule moments.

Research within the Aid Relationship

A fourth starting point for this discussion is foreign aid. What do we learn from these reviews of the research undertaken within the context of the aid relationship? Funding and technical assistance agencies commission a large number of studies to inform, often in fact to justify and legitimize, their aid programs. While in principle those studies are designed to be country specific and locally sensitive, in practice they turn out to generate very similar sets of observations about education and its problems and a common cluster of recommendations about what is to be done. That uniformity reflects both the wide acceptance of core understandings and expectations among the funding agencies and the use of a standardized approach and research framework whose assumptions and constructs shape the ways problems are posed, data are gathered, analyses are organized, and findings are presented.

Africa has seen a wide range of strategies for generating, debating, and adopting national education goals and programs.[15] In some countries, the president or party has seized the initiative and set the direction. In others there have been national commissions, explicitly political or intentionally bureaucratic, that gathered evidence, analyzed the situation, and recommended policies. Several countries have organized national consultations on education, including the États-Généraux in a few states. A few countries have used more than one approach, either over time or in combination. In nearly all countries the education ministries have planning units and statistical departments; many have research units. Notwithstanding this breadth of approaches and experiences, however, in recent years many concrete decisions and allocations of discretionary funds have been heavily influenced by the orientations of the funding and technical assistance agencies. As I have noted, their expectations and conditions have been both direct (the availability of funds is contingent on specific decisions or activities) and indirect (technical assistance and perhaps funds favor a particular conception of education's mission and organization, which in turn influences policies and practices). Sometimes the diagnoses and prescriptions are the definitive pronouncements of agency personnel. Increasingly, however, their views are shared and articulated by decision makers and researchers within African education ministries and universities. As the distinction between insider and outsider becomes blurred, the homogenization of perspective and the adoption of universal verities, ostensibly with sound research support, proceed apace.

Education policy is perhaps always a muddy morass of conflicting interests and alternative orientations. From the cacophony, decisions do emerge, whether formally prescribed or developed through practice. The process matters. Who has participated? Which ideas have been considered and which discarded without examination? Whose interests are reflected? The aid business distinctly prefers a rational-technical orientation to policy making, with unambiguous policy directions, systematic planning, and orderly implementation, all supported by applied research. Education itself, however, is more process than product. A rational-technical orienta-

tion to education policy disdains interactive and participatory policy making that is necessarily clumsier, muddier, and slower. A rational-technical orientation seeks to avoid an explicitly political approach to setting education policy and is ill-equipped to address learning as popular mobilization.

As they work in an aid-dependent setting, often without being fully aware of the transition, African educators and decision makers discard education as the vehicle for national liberation, for reducing inequality, and for constructing a new society in favor of education as upgraded facilities, more textbooks, better trained teachers, and improved test scores. Whether or not that constitutes progress will not become clear until more people start asking. But with few exceptions the financial-intellectual complex is not interested in those sorts of questions.

The Financial-Intellectual Complex

Let us bring this discussion back to research and researchers. Where public funding for education is inadequate, public funding for education research hardly exists. Just as education and training decision makers and planners look overseas to fund innovation and development, especially as their real incomes have stagnated or declined and as their institutions struggle to maintain even a minimum level of service, so do scholars look abroad for support for their research. They quickly learn that unencumbered research grants are scarce and difficult to obtain. More readily available are contracts with external assistance agencies, that is funding for commissioned research on all or parts of the education sector. With those commissions come specifications of appropriate approaches, methods, and analytic framework. Hence, education research too becomes part of the aid relationship, with senior researchers regularly shuttling between cramped offices and empty libraries on the one hand and on the other the computers, cellular telephones, and substantial fees of client consulting.

The manifestations, consequences, and problems of this conjunction of funding and research are multiple. Since I have addressed them at length elsewhere,[10] let me simply note here several of the most visible and significant of those outcomes: insisting on a detached, clinical perspective that devalues the local role; influencing and constraining the education and development discourse; legitimizing weak propositions; entrenching flawed understandings by according them official status; seeding and fertilizing theoretical and analytic fads; treating education primarily as technique and administration; mystifying knowledge and power relations; and promoting orthodoxy at the expense of critical inquiry. While it is analytically useful to distinguish among those outcomes, they are of course fundamentally interconnected. To address any of them requires considering them all. Combined, they privilege a particular understanding of education and development, thereby diverting attention from and often precluding alternative understandings and perspectives. Exploring them critically exposes the often subtle and frequently unnoticed ways in which what ought to be the subjects of policy debate come to be regarded as the normal, unexceptional, and largely unalterable features of the policy environment.

Research as Currency, or perhaps Ammunition

At the same time, research has become the currency of development planners and decision makers, used to assign value to alternative and often competing projects. Wealthier proposals and programs—those that can claim greater research support—are more likely to be approved and funded.

Surely that is desirable. Research guides decisions. Expertise rather than politics prevails. Researchers have long complained that decision makers pay too little attention to research. Finally they are listening to us, say the academics. But are they? This idealized model of the allocation of development assistance is deceptive in several ways.

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First, the common view that competent policy makers base their decisions on a careful review of relevant research is simply inaccurate. As I have suggested above, in development as in most other policy making arenas, research enters the decision making process through multiple, often indirect pathways. One begins well before any particular decision. The research to which decision makers have been exposed during their education and socialization informs the frameworks within which policies are considered and decisions made. That is, long after their schooling has been completed, decision makers draw on their academic learning (and of course their practical experience) to formulate questions, select the proposals worth pursuing, specify evaluative criteria, and make decisions. That indirect influence may be very subtle and is often not apparent to the decision makers themselves.

Second, policy makers who are largely guided by research focused on the issue to be decided do not necessarily make better decisions. The research that is deemed relevant is generally instrumental and relatively narrowly gauged since it takes the existing patterns of economic, political, and social organization as givens. Yet, effective and appropriate public policy cannot ignore interests, preferences, and politics. Making public policy is not, after all, an antiseptic, sheltered, apolitical process. Successfully implemented policies must confront and engage, not avoid, the conflict of interests and the tensions among the organization of production, the structure of power, and patterns of social differentiation.

Third, research enters the policy process as justification for decisions already made. Especially in the public discourse of a bureaucratic environment, where decision makers are charged to emphasize rationality and deemphasize politics and favoritism, the claim that research supports a particular course of action is the most powerful defense against all challengers. Put crudely, in the policy shoot-out, the gunfighter quickest to draw the research pistol and best supplied with research ammunition is most likely to emerge victorious. Even a slow draw with limited ammunition may insure survival.

Fourth, as I have argued, the conjunction of development assistance and research transforms both research and its role in the policy process, to the detriment of both. That research influences policy indirectly and that research is used to justify decisions are not necessarily problematic. In the contemporary development business, however, where the same agencies are increasingly responsible for decisions, funding, and research, it is timely to explore critically the roles of education research and researchers.

Several troubling issues cry out for attention.

What Research? By Whom? For Whom?

At the close of the century, what are the character and content of education research in contemporary Africa?[17] There are, it turns out, two bodies of education research. Only rarely do they interact with each other, even though many of Africa's education researchers work in both domains. One, the corpus published in books and scholarly journals and better known in the academic world, has in recent years steadily been submerged by the mass of the other, the commissioned research discussed above.

Ask the sort of question that ought to be important both to instructors in faculties of education and to those responsible for crafting and managing national education systems. What does recent research have to say about mother-tongue instruction? What do recent studies suggest about preparing teachers for large classes with no text books? What do we know about the sources and extent of public and private spending on education? What can research tell us about the real costs, and to whom, of more and less centralized patterns of education management? What inferences appropriate to one country can be drawn from research elsewhere in Africa? And more.

With a sorely limited library, with access to few if any recent journals, with at most sporadic professional meetings to report and discuss research findings, and with large numbers of students, most education faculty have little alternative but to fall back on the research they reviewed during their own studies, itself selective and increasingly dated. To the extent that there is available research on education, it is the commissioned research, regularly summarized in periodic publications by the World Bank and occasionally other funding and technical assistance agencies.[15] That corpus of education research thus becomes not only the rationale for particular policies and programmes but also the conventional wisdom about education in Africa for instructors and students as well as practitioners. The academic staff and researchers in other institutions who have been integrated into the financial-intellectual complex are more likely to have participated in international meetings and spent periods at overseas universities. Though it is still not widespread, increasingly they have computers and internet connections that permit expanded access to other recent research. Still, the research on which they rely and which they are likely to assign to their students draws heavily on the World Bank summaries.

I have already indicated several characteristics of that research that make it fundamentally problematic for both teaching and application. Let us elaborate and extend that discussion by addressing briefly several basic and related issues in the organization of education research in contemporary Africa. For that, in addition to my reviews of the commissioned education research, I draw on my own recent work with several African education research and policy institutions.

Research as Consulting

The research unit in the Faculty of Education at the University of Dar es Salaam poses the issue sharply. Its charter assigns it heavy responsibilities, including developing a research agenda, coordinating other research institutions, providing links with overseas researchers, collecting and disseminating education research within the country, teaching research courses, and more. Beyond staff salaries, however, there is essentially no direct research funding: in 1996 the research budget for the entire Faculty of Education was $2000, and even that was not fully allocated. Hence, the research unit is expected to generate its own funding, indeed to raise funds for the Faculty as whole. How to accomplish that? With little prospect of significant basic support from foundations and other organizations that fund research, the University of Dar es Salaam's education research unit is expected to support itself through commissioned research and consulting, undertaken at the request of foreign aid agencies. Funding of that sort is in fact available, but not for most of the tasks for which the unit is responsible. Thus, nearly complete dependence on consulting contracts both makes research possible and at the same time sharply constrains it.

With low basic salaries, individual researchers are highly motivated to become consultants to the external agencies. Unable to pay a living wage or to provide direct research funding, universities are inclined to tolerate, often encourage, that practice. Obliged to justify their programs and allocations and chastised for relying so heavily on expatriate researchers, the funding and technical assistance agencies eagerly recruit local education researchers. Research becomes consulting.

That has several problematic consequences.

First, generally the contracting agency selects the topic to be studied and often the methodology to be used. It is of course reasonable for an agency to initiate and commission research to meet its needs. Where that arrangement is the only source of research funding, however, the topics studied do not emerge organically from interactions among educators, teachers, learners, and the community. Nor for the most part are the topics specified independently by those who manage the education system, or defined by the debates among researchers and other

educators. Similarly, the methodology employed is also generally determined by the contracting agency, commonly a methodology perceived to have international legitimacy and considered credible by those to whom the agency must report. Rarely does the methodology reflect the experiences of the researcher, or methodological debates among researchers within the country, or the nationally developed critiques of dominant methodological orientations.

Second, commissioned research[19] generates reports that are sent to the contracting agency and perhaps the government. Only very rarely are findings subjected to academic and practitioners' peer review. As a result, what are taken as authoritative results and recommendations may be seriously flawed, partial, skewed, or all three. Often, beyond the few people directly involved there is simply no way to know.

Third, since the results of the commissioned research rarely enter the academic literature, they do not contribute to integrating the results of multiple investigations into common understandings, adapting findings to local circumstances, or incorporating them into instructional programs. Rather than the cumulation and sifting and winnowing that are central to the creation of knowledge, commissioned research produces largely disconnected lonely trees, some robust but many quite frail, scattered across the desolate plain of bookless schools and deskless classrooms.

Fourth, research as consulting transforms the academic reward system. In a few African universities, promotion remains important and requires publications. In most, however, promotion in university rank is less important and far less remunerative than securing another consulting contract. A month's work can yield a year's pay or more. It is consulting contracts, not university lecturing, that make possible computers, cellular telephones, four-wheel-drive vehicles, and international travel.[20] Eventually, universities are likely to evolve understandings and rules about the extent and timing of consulting deemed reasonable and to develop strategies for securing institutional support through individual consulting contracts. For the present, unable to pay salaries sufficient to meet basic needs, most universities acquiesce in these consulting arrangements even as they lose the ability to manage the national or their own academic environment.

Fifth, even as commissioned studies do make research possible, their disconnectedness functions to undermine the research institutions. Effectively unable to set their own agenda or to control the principal reward systems for their staff, research institutions are buffeted by the fickle winds of agency priorities and preferences.

Sixth, the current penchant for reducing government functions reinforces the privatization of research. Beyond their individual consulting contracts, in many countries researchers have formed local consulting firms that market their services to foreign funding and technical assistance agencies. In itself, that is not problematic. The existence of multiple and competing research centers may enhance both the quality of research and its utility for policy making. As the privatization of research has developed, however, it leads more toward the multiplication of parasitic organizations entirely dependent on one or several foreign patrons than toward the development of the institutional capacities and the autonomy that enable research centers to establish and sustain solidly grounded high quality research programs. Retaining their university posts and thus their academic legitimacy, researchers reconstitute themselves beyond the university's reach. That is, though they rely on the university's resources and credibility, they contribute little to the longer term development of the university as an institution whose mission includes research. Often employing former senior civil servants, ostensibly independent research consulting firms contribute to the construction of research as a proprietary endeavor, hidden behind walls of confidentiality, secrecy, and ministerial privilege rather than shared widely and exposed to broad review and critique.

The creation of knowledge is always a complex and spasmodic process. The boundaries between the university and other knowledge generating arenas are often productively ambiguous. And it is certainly not unique in human history to insist that knowledge creation be utilitarian

or to find knowledge creators dependent on those with disposable funds. In the contemporary African setting, however, research as consulting functions to determine how problems are specified and addressed (often with economics and its perspectives and assumptions privileged and elevated to be the mother social science), thereby institutionalizing national dependence well into the future.

Let us consider some of the ways in which that occurs.

Methodological Orthodoxy Stymies Critical Inquiry

That the external assistance agencies have influenced education policy is clear. As I have suggested, less clear but surely equally troubling has been their influence on research. Although there are of course debates and disagreements among those involved in commissioned research, the conjunction of external funding and research fosters a methodological orthodoxy. Quite simply, some theories and methods are deemed acceptable (a determination that is justified by terming them "scientific"), while others are rejected. To be heard, to influence outcomes, and to be employed by the funding and technical assistance agencies requires operating, for example, within the world of human capital theory and rate of return analysis. As local researchers develop their skills within that orthodoxy, their critical edge is dulled. The presumed universalism of the accepted research canons treats efforts to depart from the mainstream in order to tune approach and method to the local setting as simply poor social science.

In this way, the combination of foreign assistance and commissioned research functions to disseminate globally not only particular understandings of education and development but also how those understandings are created, revised, and refined. Effectively, although its origins of course preceded the recent period of economic disarray and foreign assistance, financial crisis and structural adjustment have reinforced and entrenched the globalization of a particular sort of social science. Surely addressing this process critically is long overdue.

The Mystification of Knowledge and Power Relations

It is striking that individual scholars may orient their work very differently in the academic and financial-intellectual complex spheres of operation. In the former, the relevant audience is institutional and disciplinary, academic peers and university chairs and deans, while in the latter the officials of the employing agency constitute the audience that matters. They are more likely than the general body of academics to have shared preferences about method, approach, and findings. Much more easily than is possible at most universities and research institutes, funding agencies can readily terminate their relationship with a particular scholar.

In the conjunction of funding and research, scholarship becomes a proprietary process. The investors have the determining voice in the selection of topics, researchers, and methods, limit access to source materials, and often control the dissemination of findings. Consequently, the *process* of knowledge creation is obscured, mystifying the power relations embedded in the research and thereby in the programs it supports. Perhaps not entirely aware of their own role, scholars become advocates not only for particular understandings of development and underdevelopment but also for a particular sort of global order.

Knowledge *is* power in this setting. Education initiatives and reforms, even maintaining the schools, requires resources. Securing funds requires research findings. Those who can provide research findings gain influence, often control, over decisions and programs. Those who determine the sorts of research that are acceptable secure even broader influence and control. More troubling, that systemic ability to constrain and set agendas and priorities is barely discernible and thus generally inaccessible since it is embedded in ostensibly apolitical and neutral rules and procedures of research. How are peasants to challenge *the* scientific method? Are their teachers, or their teachers, any more likely to do so? Power relations that might be regarded as profoundly

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problematic if they were seen clearly are so enmeshed in ordinary everyday practices that they become invisible. Research intended to clarify education functions to mystify power and authority.

Confidentiality and Restricted Access

As I have noted above, much of the commissioned research is labeled confidential and circulated little if at all. It is of course reasonable for governments and agencies to maintain confidential communications and to develop confidential evaluations of particular projects or programs. At the same time, limited exposure undermines scientific inquiry and reduces the utility of research. As I have suggested, it also obscures methodological orthodoxy and mystifies power relations. For all its problems, peer review—I include practitioners as well as academics among the peers—remains important to both scholars and decision makers.

Both because confidentiality generally weakens scholarship and because in democratic society citizens have a right to knowledge about their society, it seems timely for the academic community to press for greater openness. While the cost of speaking out on this issue to individual scholars may be high, the scholarly community collectively can and should express itself clearly and firmly.

Note that some universities explicitly bar secret research. Recall as well that some of the most egregious abuses of social science research, for example Project Camelot in the U.S., were exposed in part because scholars insisted that their contracts protect their right to publish the results of their research.

What has Happened to Low Budget Research Initiatives?

Much of this discussion revolves around efforts to secure funding for research and the consequences of becoming dependent on the foreign funding and technical assistance agencies. The very construction of that issue reflects another, often unnoticed influence on the research process. Although the external agencies do commission quick studies—often lightening visits by expatriates that produce instant wisdom—the research they are inclined to regard as the most solid and most persuasive is often very costly to undertake. Where transport and communications are unreliable and the pool of experienced researchers is small, national sample surveys, for example, require a major investment in vehicles, computers, stationery, training, and per diem. Sending data overseas for analysis and sending analysts overseas to free their time and provide access to research libraries are also expensive.

While it is surely helpful to African researchers to be able to find large scale funding for studies of that sort, all education research need not be so expensive. Some universities, for example, have required or encouraged students to undertake low budget research in their home areas during university holidays. In a few countries, prospective teachers do participant observation or action research projects as part of their formal pre-service or in-service education. There are many other possible models. In the current environment, however, researchers are motivated to define more elaborate projects in order to secure more extensive resources. And nearly everyone, from university staff and students to education administrators to classroom teachers, expects to be paid for participating in research projects.

In this way, expectations about what is appropriate research and how it should be conducted function to reinforce the dependence of the research community on external funding and thereby to entrench further the funders' role in and influence on the research process.

Accountability within the Research Community

Another result of this process is that a very large percentage, in some countries nearly all, of Africa's senior education researchers become at least part-time employees of the funding

agencies. Especially where several agencies have active programs, their demand for local scholars with appropriate credentials may exceed the supply. Researchers can generally earn substantially more as part-time and short-term consultants than their regular salaries. Researchers cannot be faulted for seeking to supplement their incomes, particularly where their salaries are insufficient to support a family's basic needs. But then for whom do the researchers really work? And to whom in practice rather than prescription, are they accountable?

As African researchers are integrated into the financial-intellectual complex, they are less likely to be able to provide alternative perspectives and a critical vantage point. This recruitment of the national research capacity poses questions of divided loyalties and conflicting obligations and thereby threats to objectivity and critical distance that warrant systematic attention.

Research Supervisors Who are also Employers

Where research is commissioned and proprietary, research supervisors may become, effectively, the employers of their students. While this has apparently not yet emerged on a major scale in Africa, it is on the horizon, especially as more young scholars complete their doctoral studies at African universities. Consider, for example, a senior researcher engaged by a funding agency to undertake a major study or evaluation. Seeking to provide useful experience for doctoral students as well as a means to finance their dissertation research, the senior researcher employs the students or recommends their inclusion in the project. In the same way, faculty employed in consulting firms may recruit their students. Their experiences will surely enrich the quality of their studies. Their fees may finance them as well. What, however, becomes of the relationship between student and faculty when the faculty are also employers? Do students become even more vulnerable and less able to develop their own analyses and critiques when their jobs and future job prospects are at stake?

Responding to reported and alleged abuse, some universities (including my own) have adopted policies that explicitly bar this dual relationship. The conflict of interest between supervisor and employer is deemed threatening to learning and critical inquiry and unfair to the students, costs that outweigh the benefits of the job. As contracts and consultancies become more important in research on African education, what are the appropriate guidelines and expectations, and how are they to be implemented?

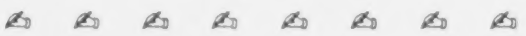
Africanization is Necessary but not Sufficient

The review of the Africa education sector studies of the early 1990s showed clearly that expatriates were primarily responsible for conceiving, organizing, and managing the research and for preparing reports and recommendations. Thus, the expanded consulting responsibilities for African researchers are marks of progress. Still, while foreign funding and technical assistance agencies increasingly employ African consultants, it remains the case that expatriates continue to play the leading roles. At the end of the 20th Century it should not be acceptable that African participation in externally funded and commissioned research on African education be so frequently limited to secondary and supporting roles. I do not mean to ignore the importance of extended experience or to underestimate agencies' needs for researchers in whom they have confidence. Those concerns, however, cannot justify agencies' inattention to helping African scholars develop the skills and experience they deem important or their slow pace in integrating Africans into their groups of core consultants.

At the same time, it is important to understand that Africanization, long overdue, will in itself not necessarily address the problems of commissioned and proprietary research that I have outlined. Africanization is likely to promote greater sensitivity to African problems and increased responsiveness to African constituencies and their needs and interests. But Africanization will not automatically lead to intellectual heterogeneity, methodological diversity, or critical inquiry.

Indeed, Africanization can become a vehicle for obscuring the continued dominance of particular values, ideas, assumptions, and approaches.

The scholarly community ought to be at the forefront of the pressure for Africanization. At the same time, the scholarly community ought also to be energetically encouraging (and protecting) scholars who reject academic orthodoxies, pursue alternative perspectives, and develop innovative approaches.[21]



I have sought here to explore the evolution of the environment for research on African education. Specifically, I have been concerned with the role research has come to play in the context of increased reliance on foreign funding for education and with the consequences for research and researchers of their dependence on foreign aid agencies: research as consulting. Since there has been little systematic study of all of this, it is important to pose sharply what seems problematic in order to frame the discussion and facilitate critical examination. It is surely timely, indeed overdue, for the larger scholarly community to assume its responsibility for addressing these issues.

Notes

1. Earlier versions of some of the themes developed here were presented at the 39th Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association (San Francisco, 1996) and appeared in Joel Samoff, "The Structural Adjustment of Education Research: Reflections," in Lene Buchert and Kenneth King, editors, *Consultancy and Research in International Education: The New Dynamics* (Bonn: Deutsche Stiftung für Internationale Entwicklung, 1996), pp. 65-82.

2. Terminology is immediately troublesome. The common usage, "donor agencies" is inaccurate and fundamentally misleading. The principal such agency is a bank, which does not make donations but lends money that must be repaid. Many of the other agencies do provide grants, but it is not entirely clear whether the result of those grants is a net inflow or outflow for the recipient country, especially as aid programs require or encourage the purchase of goods and services from the source country. Here, I use both the term preferred by the network of West and Central African education researchers, "funding and technical assistance agencies," and simply "external aid agencies." Similarly misleading is "bilateral agency," used to refer to agencies like U.S.A.I.D., usually part of the foreign ministry, that oversee the provision of aid from one country to another, in contrast to "multilateral agencies" like the World Bank, UNESCO, and the United Nations Development Programme. While "bilateral" suggests partnership and equality, these are in fact national agencies that pursue national interests and national agendas. Accordingly, it seems clearer to refer to international and national agencies.

3. Among them, Susan George, *A Fate Worse Than Debt: A Radical New Analysis of the Third World Debt Crisis* (London: Penguin, 1988); Jacques Hallak, *Negotiations with Aid Agencies: A Dwarf Against a Giant* (Paris: UNESCO, IIEP Contributions No. 19, 1995); Cheryl Payer, *Lent and Lost: Foreign Credit and Third World Development* (London: Zed Books, 1991); and Roger C. Riddell, *Foreign Aid Reconsidered* (London: James Currey, 1987).

4. Among them, Susan George and Fabrizio Sabelli, *Faith and Credit: The World Bank's Secular Empire* (Boulder: Westview, 1994); Dharam Ghai, editor, *IMF and the South: The Social Impact of Crisis and Adjustment* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press international, 1991); Bade Onimode, editor, *The IMF, the World Bank and the African Debt* (London: Zed Books, 1989); and David N. Plank, "Aid, Debt and the End of Sovereignty: Mozambique and Its Donors," *Journal of Modern African Studies* 31,3(September 1993):407-430. Among the recent studies of World Bank Africa education policies have been Birgit Brock-Utne, "Education Policies for Sub-Saharan Africa as Viewed by the World Bank: A Critical Analysis of World Bank Report No. 6934," in *Education in Africa: Education for Self-Reliance or Recolonization?* (Oslo: Universitetet I Oslo, Pedagogist Forskningsinstitutt, Rapport No. 3, 1993); Lene Buchert, editor, *Education and Training in the Third World: The Local Dimension* (The Hague: Centre for the Study of Education in Developing Countries, 1992); Lene Buchert and Kenneth King, editors, *Learning from Experience: Policy and Practice in Aid to Higher Education* (The Hague: Centre for the Study of Education in Developing Countries, 1995); Christopher Colclough, "Who Should Learn to Pay? An Assessment of Neo-Liberal Approaches to Education Policy," in Christopher Colclough and James Manor, editors, *States or Markets? Neo-Liberalism and the Development Policy Debate* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), pp. 197-213; Kevin Danaher, editor, *50 Years is Enough: The Case Against the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund* (Boston: South End Press, 1994); Joel Samoff, "The Reconstruction of Schooling in Africa." *Comparative Education Review* 37,2(May 1993):181-222, and "Which Priorities and Strategies for Education?" *International Journal of Educational Development* 16,3(July 1996):249-271.

5. Among the recent contributions, see Lene Buchert, "Education and Development: A Study of Donor Agency Policies On Education in Sweden, Holland and Denmark." *International Journal of Educational Development* 14,2(1994):143-157, and *Recent Trends in Education Aid: Towards a Classification of Policies* (Paris: UNESCO: International Institute for Educational Planning, 1995);

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Lynn Ilon, "Structural Adjustment and Education: Adapting to a Growing Global Market," *International Journal of Educational Development* 14,2(April 1994); Philip W. Jones, *World Bank Financing of Education: Lending, Learning and Development* (London: Routledge, 1992); Kenneth King, *Aid and Education in the Developing World: The Role of the Donor Agencies in Educational Analysis* (Harlow, Essex: Longman, 1991); François Orivel and Fabrice Sergent, "Foreign Aid to Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: How Useful Is It?" *Prospects* XVIII, 4(1988):459-469; and Birgit Brock-Utne and Tove Nagel, editors, *The Role of Aid in the Development of Education For All* (Oslo: University of Oslo, Institute for Educational Research, Report No. 8, 1996), including Joel Samoff, "Aid and Education—Transforming the Policy Making Process," pp. 5-72.

6. Katherine Namuddu has recently explored the links between research methodologies and education policy and reform: "Research Methodologies and Education Policy and Reform," in Lene Buchert, editor, *Education Reform in the South in the 1990s* (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1998), pp. 271-299.

7. Joel Samoff, with N'Dri T. Assié-Lumumba, *Analyses, Agendas, and Priorities in African Education: A Review of Externally Initiated, Commissioned, and Supported Studies of Education in Africa, 1990-1994* (Paris: prepared for the Association for the Development of African Education Working Group on Education Sector Analysis and the Division for Policy and Sector Analysis, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, 1996). An extended summary of that report was published as Joel Samoff, with N'Dri T. Assié Lumumba, "Analyses, Agendas, and Priorities in African Education," *Journal of Educational Planning and Administration* IX,4(October 1995):345-359. The source documents have been deposited in the UNESCO Education Documentation Centre, Paris (UNESCO is Lead Agency for the Working Group on Education Sector Analysis). The views here are my own and do not necessarily represent those of UNESCO or of any of the agencies whose documents were reviewed.

8. Joel Samoff, *After Apartheid, What? A Review of Externally Initiated, Commissioned, and Supported Studies of Education in South Africa* (Paris: Donors to African Education Working Group on Education Sector Analysis and UNESCO, 1994).

9. Joel Samoff, "No Teacher Guide, No Textbooks, No Chairs: An Analytic Overview of Recent Education Assistance Agency Africa Studies" (Paris: prepared for UNESCO's Operational Policy and Sector Analysis Division, Bureau for Coordination of Operational Activities, September, 1989). A revised version of this study subsequently had limited circulation: "Review of Recent Sector Studies and Preparation of a Sector Study Data Base" (Paris: UNESCO, October, 1989). A summary of that report was presented at the 1990 Annual Conference of the Comparative and International Education Society: Joel Samoff, "Defining What Is and What Is Not an Issue: An Analysis of Assistance Agency Africa Education Sector Studies."

10. Levi M. Nyagura, editor, Cowden E. M. Chikombah, Boniface R. S. Chivore, Obert E. Maravanyika, and Isaiah M. Sibanda, *The Zimbabwe Education Sector Analysis Review* (Paris: UNESCO, forthcoming).

11. Joel Samoff, editor, *Coping With Crisis: Austerity, Adjustment, and Human Resources* (London: Cassell and UNESCO, 1994).

12. Joel Samoff, "The Intellectual/Financial Complex of Foreign Aid," *Review of African Political Economy* 53(March 1992): 60-75; "The Reconstruction of Schooling in Africa"; "Chaos and Certainty in Development," *World Development* 24,4(April 1996):611-633; and "Aid and Education—Transforming the Policy Making Process."

13. Joel Samoff, with Suleman Sumra, "From Planning to Marketing: Making Education and Training Policy in Tanzania," in Joel Samoff, editor, *Coping With Crisis: Austerity, Adjustment, and Human Resources* (London: Cassell, 1994), pp. 134-172

14. I review the successive strategies for formulating education policy in Joel Samoff, "Education Policy Formation in Tanzania: Self-Reliance and Dependence," in David R. Evans, editor, *Education Policy Formation in Africa: A Comparative Study of Five Countries* (Washington: U.S. Agency for International Development, 1994), pp. 85-126.

15. Instructive are the cases studies of education policy making reported in David R. Evans, editor, *Education Policy Formation in Africa: A Comparative Study of Five Countries* (Washington: U.S. Agency for International Development, 1994), and Association for the Development of African Education, *Formulating Education Policy: Lessons and Experiences from sub-Saharan Africa* (Paris: Association for the Development of African Education, 1996).

16. For a recent overview, see "Chaos and Certainty in Development."

17. There are few reviews to consult. In addition to the overviews of commissioned research noted above, see *Overlooked and Undervalued: A Synthesis of ERNWACA Reviews On the State of Education Research in West and Central Africa* (Washington: USAID, 1997). For a relevant case study, see Jürgen Hess and Trywell Kalusopa, "Challenges of Building Educational Research Capacity in Sub-Saharan Africa: The Case of the School of Education, University of Zambia," in Lene Buchert, editor, *Education Reform in the South in the 1990s* (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1998), pp. 325-336. On higher education in Africa more generally, see J. F. Ade Ajayi, Lameck K. H. Goma, and G. Ampah Johnson. *The African Experience with Higher Education* (Accra, London, and Athens, OH: Association of African Universities, James Currey, and Ohio University Press, 1996); Association of African Universities and the World Bank, *Revitalizing Universities in Africa* (Washington: World Bank, 1997); and Lennart Wohlgemuth, Jerker Carlsson, and Henock Kifle, editors, *Institution Building and Leadership in Africa* (Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 1998), especially Lennart Wohlgemuth, "Administering and Leading a University."

18. The adequacy and accuracy of those summaries are themselves problematic, an issue that I address briefly in "Which Priorities and Strategies for Education?" (as do several of the other papers in the July, 1996, issue of the *International Journal of Educational Development*, Volume 16, Number 3) and that is beyond the scope of this discussion.

19. I conflate here *commissioned research* (studies initiated and funded by an external agency) and *consulting* (individual and occasionally institutional contracts for services rendered) since that is the common usage among the practitioners.

20. Many of the aid workers, too, who then become models to emulate. See Stuart C. Carr, Rose Chipande, and Malcolm MacLachlan. "Expatriate Aid Salaries in Malawi: A Doubly Demotivating Influence?" *International Journal of Educational Development* 18,2 (March 1998): 133-143.

21. I share the concerns of Thandika Mkandawire, "The Social Sciences in Africa: Breaking Local Barriers and Negotiating International Presence," *African Studies Review* 40,2 (September 1997): 15-36.

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